



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

# THE LEAGUE AT WORK

BY X.

---

*[The following article embodies the first detailed and authoritative information concerning the organization and functioning of the League of Nations. This information is the first account permitted to appear in any American magazine.—THE EDITOR.]*

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS came officially into being when the ratifications of the Treaty of Peace had been exchanged between Germany and the Allied and Associated Powers. Within six days of that exchange the Council of the League, created under the Covenant, met in Paris and on the 16th of January began its deliberations. The first meeting was to a large extent formal, but it was properly made the occasion of certain speeches on the aim and purpose of the League and it fulfilled the first duty entrusted to the Council by the Peace Treaty, which was to appoint commissioners as part of the body which was to draw up the exact boundary line of the Saar Valley area.

The second meeting, which took place in London on the 11th of February, had a much wider agenda and dealt with each item in it by a series of resolutions prefaced by explanatory speeches by different members of the Council, according to what is known Continentally as the "rapporteur" method. The Council also on this occasion assumed the responsibility for calling a conference of the representatives of different nations to consider the problems of exchange which are now vexing the civilized world.

At neither of these meetings was the administrative machinery of the League formally considered. Under the Covenant by which the League was established, a Permanent Secretariat is provided for (Article 6) which is to

comprise a Secretary General and "such secretaries and staff as may be required." The first Secretary-General is named in the Annex to the Covenant, and it is provided that he shall appoint the secretaries and staff with the Council's approval, the expenses of the Secretariat to be borne by the Members of the League in accordance with the method of apportionment hitherto followed by the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

The Secretary-General named in the Annex, is, as is generally known, the Honorable Sir James Eric Drummond, K. C. M. G., C. B., who has acted as the chief Private Secretary to two British Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs and has also been one of the principal Private Secretaries of the British Prime Minister.

During the past few months it has been the duty of the Secretary-General, in anticipation of the Council discussion (which, as already stated, has not as yet taken place) to prepare a provisional organization. This, when fully completed, will enable the League of Nations to avoid the danger, from which previous international institutions have so seriously suffered, that of failing to fulfil expectations through lack of efficient administrative machinery.

The permanent staff of the Secretariat consists of some sections about which there can be no difference of opinion. The Secretary-General himself must be provided with efficient subordinates; there must be a Finance Director to control and regulate the Financial Administration of the Secretariat; there must be a Registry, a Library, a section for the issue of documents and information, and other similar departments. These are matters which cannot be in dispute, and the setting up of a provisional organization of this kind has naturally been undertaken by the Secretary-General as a matter arising out of the business of his office.

The permanent Secretariat of the League, however, has a wider aspect than this. It must create an organization which will be the means of expression for the international activities, many and various, which will make up its work. And, though only two public meetings of the Council have taken place, this enterprise has already been begun. The League in fact is evolving a method of business which is simple, which will provide a permanent organization from which further developments in each direction of international action can proceed, and which will fit itself into the

provisional scheme already sketched out in its elements by the Secretary-General. The essence of this scheme is the establishment of permanent bodies of expert advisers in the various spheres of international action, whether they be political, economic, medical, judicial, or of any other kind. By a series of resolutions, the Council of the League will appoint, and has to a certain degree already appointed, committees of experts each of which will become the nucleus of a permanent body under the League for the study and organization of some one or other of its activities.

Take for example the question of Public Health. The ultimate object is to set up a permanent international body to deal with this most important subject.

To bring such a body into being there is sought the advice and assistance of a number of eminent experts. These will be drawn from various nations and will doubtless include, among others, representatives of the Central Red Cross organization whose headquarters are in Geneva, and which at the time of writing is holding its first general world-wide Council in that city. These experts will be charged with the duty of drawing up and submitting definite proposals for the consideration of an international conference held under the auspices of the League. The conference may consist of either the Council of the League itself, or, it may be, some other body with authority delegated to it by the League Council. When the resolutions have been approved by this conference they will finally, in the form of draft conventions, be submitted for approval to the various Governments that are Members of the League, and when sanctioned by these Governments the proposals become to all intents and purposes international laws.

It is clear that the permanent body which shall conduct enquiries, frame resolutions, remit these proposals to the Council or the Conference, transmit them in the form of conventions to the Powers, supervise the putting into execution of the laws proceeding from international action and stimulate further development and progress, must be a section of the Secretariat.

Whatever provisional organization there is, therefore, in the case of Public Health under the scheme of the Secretary-General must be regarded as a nucleus around which will grow an institution formed under the inspiration of the Council and through the Council of the Members of the

League, that is to say, of the free nations of the world. It is, therefore, important to note that in so far as the provisional organization of the Secretariat has been attempted, it has meant no more than a series of strings round which organizations which draw their vitality from the nations themselves should crystallize.

Assuming the duties of his position in May last, Sir Eric Drummond set about securing, one by one,—hand-picking so to speak,—the men whom he desired to have associated with him. The public services of the civilized world were at his command. Next in importance to himself come his Under-Secretaries-General, four in number. Their association with him is of such an intimate character as to enable each one of them to keep in constant touch with the work of the Secretariat as a whole. Each is competent, on occasion, to act as his Deputy on important missions or during the Secretary-General's absence from the Seat of the League. In so far as ranking is concerned, the Under-Secretaries-General are on an equal footing; any one of them may be called upon in the absence of the Secretary-General to act in his place.

At all meetings of the Assembly, and of the Council, the Secretary-General acts as Secretary.

He presents in printed form, in French and English, a memorandum upon each subject that comes up for consideration. In the preparation of this material he is assisted by a number of Directors of Section each of whom is at the head of a group of experts specially qualified to prepare reasoned statements upon given subjects.

Up to the present, ten such Sections have been created, and further departments to deal with questions such as regulation of armaments will undoubtedly be added as the work of the League develops. These sections are:

1. Political.
2. Legal.
3. Economic and Financial.
4. Administrative Commissions and Minority Questions.
5. Transit and Communications.
6. Information.
7. Mandates.
8. International Bureau.
9. Registration of Treaties.
10. Social Questions and Health.

A brief review of the work, for the performance of

which each of these sections has been organized, may not be without public interest.

### 1. THE POLITICAL SECTION

This department serves primarily as the means of communication between the Secretariat and the several national Governments. It is expected to secure through the national appointees all information of political importance.

In so far as may be deemed advisable, the information so gathered will be communicated, in whole or in part, to the States that are members of the League.

It is specified in the pact that "any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb either the peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends" is a matter of proper League enquiry, and it is in the furtherance of this service also that the Political Section will occupy itself.

A distinguished Frenchman, closely associated with the preparation of the Peace Treaty, has been invited to act as Director for the Political Section. He will probably divide his department upon geographical lines, selecting as the head for each group of states a national from the region in question. Thus the Political Section of the Secretariat is likely to become a department of considerable dimensions, containing eight or ten geographical groups. Investigation through travel and enquiry may be found to be one of the best methods to secure first-hand information for presentation by this section.

### 2. LEGAL SECTION

The primary duty of the Legal Section is to advise all other departments of the Secretariat with reference to the juridical aspect of their work.

The drafting of Treaties and conventions for submission to the Assembly, and the reconsideration of Treaties as provided for under Article 19 of the Covenant, will also fall within the scope of this department.

A Permanent Court of International Justice is about to be set up by the League of Nations. When it has been established it will be through the Legal Section that the Court will be kept in contact with the Council of the League.

As the Director of this most important department, an international lawyer and writer of world-wide repute, a Hollander, has been selected.

### 3. ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL SECTION

Through the instrumentality of this section, it is expected that extensive information will be collected, summarized, and compiled, with regard to economic conditions throughout the world. A conference of International Statisticians has already been held under its auspices and plans considered for the development of statistical information. The use of the economic boycott, as described in Article XVI. of the Covenant, will form the subject of careful study by the expert economists of this section and a report on the subject will be presented to the Council.

Closely associated with this section will be the organization, now being created as the result of a Council resolution, to bring together in conference the financial experts of the world with a view to considering what public and private action may be taken to alleviate the present exchange crisis. Out of this conference a permanent body may come into being, but at this writing no definite anticipations can be announced.

### 4. ADMINISTRATIVE COMMISSIONS SECTION

Under the Treaty of Peace, provision is made for the naming of a number of Commissions to administer certain reserved areas and to perform other special duties mentioned in the Treaty.

Upon the League is laid the responsibility of seeing that these directions are carried out in the spirit in which they were framed. A number of permanent commissions will be set up, the Administrative Section acting as the liaison office between them and the League. This Section *inter alia* will deal with the Commissions for the Government of the Saar Basin and for the control of Danzig, and possibly with similar authorities in areas on the Adriatic and the Dardanelles.

Through this section also, the League will be kept informed as to the carrying-out of the provisions inserted in the several treaties for the purpose of protecting the rights of Minorities.

As Director of the Section dealing with Administrative Commissions a Norwegian lawyer, with wide experience as adviser on questions of commercial policy, has been chosen.

The Council of the League of Nations at its first meeting afforded this section ample opportunity for rendering immediate service.

### 5. TRANSIT SECTION

A permanent organization will eventually have charge of questions concerning communication and transit which may arise between nations. A plan for the creation of this body is to be worked out on lines laid down in a Resolution of the Council passed at its second meeting. When this is accomplished the Transit Section of the League will serve as the connecting link between a Permanent Transit Commission and the League of Nations.

It is expected that a well-known Italian authority on such subjects will become director of this section.

### 6. INFORMATION SECTION

This department is designed to provide information on all aspects of League activities, to superintend the issue of official communiqués, and to organize the press arrangements at the meetings of the League Assembly.

### 7. MANDATES SECTION

Under the Covenant it is provided that certain areas, peopled by the less advanced races, shall be entrusted for administrative purposes to the care of Members of the League. The nations upon whom such responsibilities are laid will exercise authority as "mandatories" on behalf of the League. The character of the mandates will differ according to the degree of development of the people whose tutelage is thus assumed. For the supervision of these administrations a permanent body will need to be created.

It will be the duty of such an organization to receive and examine reports from the various states holding mandates, and to report to the League of Nations whether the stipulations laid down in the mandates are being observed.

Probably the Secretary of the Mandates Commission will be at the same time Director of the Mandates Section of the Secretariat, thus serving as a channel of communication and a bond of union between the two bodies.

Sub-sections may be formed in this department to deal with such matters as the traffic in arms, the trade in opium and other harmful drugs, and with native questions generally. In fact, any matter which concerns the proper protection of the less advanced races may properly be included among the activities of this section.



## 8. INTERNATIONAL BUREAUX

When the question of international co-operation was under consideration at the Peace Conference, it was felt that many international bodies, each working for a specific object, might profitably be brought under central control; hence provision was made in Article XXIV. of the Covenant that all International Bureaux already established by general treaties might be placed under the direction of the League, if the parties—that is to say, the contracting states to such treaties—should consent.

It is estimated that there are no less than 60 public and nearly 500 private international bureaux, commissions, and other similar organizations. There will probably be long continued negotiations as to the exact relationship of these bodies to the League. Whether they come under the direction of the League or not, it is clearly desirable that close contact between them and the Secretariat should be established and maintained. It is probable that the Japanese Under-Secretary-General will be chosen as Director of this section. When the schism of war, which has rent most of these organizations in twain, shall have become in a measure healed, it is probable that many of these presently independent international bodies will either come under the direction of the League or permit their work to be brought into full harmony with its operations.

## 9. REGISTRATION OF TREATIES

“Every convention or international engagement entered into henceforward by any member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it.” So runs the Covenant, and a special department for carrying this out is to be set up within the Secretariat in the near future.

## 10. INTERNATIONAL HEALTH OFFICE

It is in contemplation to bring into early existence an International Health Office organized upon lines somewhat similar to those already referred to in the matter of Labor, and a resolution was adopted by the second Council to this effect. Meantime, provisionally, a section of the League has been formed to keep in touch with this body under the direction of a lady who was attached to the British National Health Society as Lecturer and Demonstrator before

the war. This section may be subsequently extended so as to become a department of a larger Social Questions section that will cover a wider field.

#### THE QUESTION OF ARMAMENTS

According to Article IX of the Covenant, a Permanent Commission is to be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions in the Treaty relating to the reduction of armaments and upon military, naval and air questions generally. A liaison section will almost certainly be necessary between this Permanent Commission and the League Council. It has not yet been found practical to make any appointment to this section.

#### INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE

The Peace Treaty provides for the establishment of a permanent organization for dealing with questions relating to Labor upon a footing similar to that of the Secretariat itself. The First General Labor Conference under the Treaty was held in Washington in November last, and, in conformity with its decisions, there has since been set up an International Labor Office, with M. Albert Thomas as Director. This body will be closely linked with the League of Nations Secretariat, and all the expenses of the Office and of the meetings of the Conference or Governing Body are paid for out of advances made from the consolidated funds of the League. As far as possible the League organizations which are appropriate—for example, the Finance Section, the Information Section and others—will be common services, acting for the Labor Office as well as for the League.

#### ESTABLISHMENT

In order to provide the Secretary-General and the Sections that have just been described with the clerical assistance required to enable them to carry on their work, a department known under the military term of the "Establishment" has been created. This comprises a pool of bi-lingual stenographers, a duplicating staff, a distribution office, and other services. The League will probably in due course own and operate its own printing plant, whence the "Official Bulletin" and other publications will issue.

The library of the League is being developed upon modern lines, and for purposes of reference upon political,

social and economic questions will probably not be excelled by any in Europe. It is at present in charge of an American library specialist, Miss Florence Wilson, formerly of Columbia University, who also organized the library of the American Peace Commission in Paris.

It is as yet too early to prophesy regarding the location or character of the buildings which it is expected will be ultimately erected at the permanent seat of the League. Suffice it to say that they will be no doubt in keeping with the International character of the organization, and with the importance and magnitude of the undertaking for which they will provide a home.

Not only is it expected that the Assembly of the League of Nations will meet annually as an International Parliament, but there will be many conferences on special subjects attended by delegates from all parts of the world, carried on under the auspices of the League. To enable the representatives of the various countries to exchange ideas and to communicate freely with one another, a staff of skilled and experienced Interpreters and Translators will be required. This has already been organized in connection with the Secretariat, and the difficulty of language will be overcome for all such international gatherings.

#### FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

Naturally the question will be asked, How and by whom will the cost of this considerable organization be defrayed? Article VI. of the Covenant states that:

The expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the members of the League, in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

The "Bureau International de l'union Postale Universelle" was created in accordance with the Convention of Rome passed on the 26th of May, 1906, and, since then, several times amended. With headquarters at Berne, this bureau undertakes to act as a clearing-house for the international postal problems of the world. Almost without exception the civilized nations of the world are members of this Union, participate in its congresses, abide by its rulings, and contribute towards the cost of the common service. The proportion payable by the members to the common fund is determined with due reference to the size, importance and wealth of each Power. The states are rated accordingly.

There are seven categories. The larger Powers, such as Great Britain, the United States of America, and France, are in the first class. Each of these is reckoned as liable for 25 units. The second class is rated at 20 units, the third class at 15 units, the fourth class at 10 units, the fifth class at 5 units, the sixth class at 3 units, and the seventh class at 1 unit. The total number of units represented by all the members of the Union is computed and each state is liable according to the ratio between the total number of units and the number of units represented by that state. Thus if, as was the case with the U. P. U. in 1918, the total number of units was 798, and the United States, as a first-class Power, was liable for 25 units, then the share of the expenses of the U. P. U. which the United States is called upon to provide is 25/798 of the total sum required.

Now, applying this method with strict exactness to the Powers that have signed the treaty, on the assumption that all will become members of the League, and reckoning for sake of argument the first budget of expenditure of the League of Nations at £250,000 (or, at present rate of exchange, \$1,000,000) we arrive at the following result:

	<i>Class</i>	<i>Units</i>	<i>Amount</i>
United States of America.....	1st	25	£16,234
Belgium .....	3rd	15	9,740
Bolivia .....	6th	3	1,948
Brazil .....	3rd	15	9,740
Great Britain .....	1st	25	16,234
Canada .....	1st	25	16,234
Australia .....	1st	25	16,234
South Africa .....	1st	25	16,234
New Zealand .....	6th	3	1,948
British India .....	1st	25	16,234
China .....	1st	25	16,234
Cuba .....	6th	3	1,948
Czecho-Slovakia .....	4th	10	6,494
Ecuador .....	6th	3	1,948
France .....	1st	25	16,234
Greece .....	5th	5	3,247
Guatemala .....	6th	3	1,948
Haiti .....	6th	3	1,948
Hedjaz .....	7th	1	648
Honduras .....	6th	3	1,948
Italy .....	1st	25	16,234
Japan .....	1st	25	16,234
Liberia .....	7th	1	648
Nicaragua .....	6th	3	1,948
Panama .....	6th	3	1,948

	<i>Class</i>	<i>Units</i>	<i>Amount</i>
Peru .....	5th	5	3,247
Poland .....	1st	25	16,234
Portugal .....	4th	10	6,494
Roumania .....	3rd	15	9,740
Serb-Croat-Slovene State .....	4th	10	6,494
Siam .....	6th	3	1,948
Uruguay .....	6th	3	1,948
Total .....		395	£256,494

Should the thirteen other Powers that, provided they adhere to the Covenant without reserves within 60 days of the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace, are entitled to be regarded as original members, also contribute towards the first period's expenses of the League, their payments, if the same method is adopted, would be as follows:

	<i>Class</i>	<i>Units</i>	<i>Amount</i>
Argentine Republic .....	5th	5	£3,247
Chile .....	5th	5	3,247
Colombia .....	5th	5	3,247
Denmark .....	4th	10	6,494
Netherlands .....	3rd	15	9,740
Norway .....	4th	10	6,494
Paraguay .....	6th	3	1,948
Persia .....	6th	3	1,948
Salvador .....	6th	3	1,948
Spain .....	2nd	20	12,988
Sweden .....	3rd	15	9,740
Switzerland .....	3rd	15	9,740
Venezuela .....	6th	3	1,948
Total .....		112	£72,729

It is quite probable that further Powers, not mentioned in the Covenant, may be later on admitted to the League by the Assembly, in which case the same method of apportionment will also be applied to them. It is also to be hoped that in due course the ex-enemy Powers may be admitted to the League, when they too will doubtless contribute their share.

As the place occupied by the League of Nations in international relationships grows more important, the duties and responsibilities of the Secretariat and of the Commissions working under its guidance will increase. The sums of money required to perform these tasks will also grow proportionately.

The Financial Administration of the League is under

the control of a Canadian, Sir Herbert Ames, assisted by a competent accounting staff, and it is expected that a governmental audit of the accounts of the League will be arranged for at the termination of each fiscal period.

Thus there is being brought together from many lands an aggregation of capable men and women, actuated by the realization of what it will mean to a war-weary world if the League of Nations fulfils expectation, and determined that, in so far as the work of each can make it so, the League shall accomplish its mission.

It is to be hoped that, for the future preservation of civilization and for the bringing in of an era of peace and good-will, their hopes may be realized and their efforts richly rewarded.

X.